

Message Text

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PAGE 01 ALGIER 00787 01 OF 03 281422Z
ACTION NEA-10

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ALGIERS 00787

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: AMGT, PFOR, AG
SUBJECT: PARM - ANNUAL POLICY AND RESOURCE ASSESSMENT - PART I

REF: (A) STATE 38338, (B) STATE 38356, (C) STATE 49794, (D) CERP
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A. U.S. INTERESTS:

I. ENERGY AND MARKETS. ALGERIA'S GAS AND OIL PROVIDE
US WITH INCREASING AMOUNTS OF ENERGY; EXPLOITATION OF THESE
RESOURCES AND ALGERIA'S DEVELOPMENT PLANS PROVIDE US WITH
IMPORTANT MARKET.

II. STRATEGIC POSITION. ALGERIA'S STRATEGIC POSITION--
ITS LOCATION ON FLANKS OF TWO COUNTRIES WITH WHICH WE HAVE
SPECIAL RELATIONSHIP, ITS SEVERAL MEDITERRANEAN PORTS WITH
FACILITIES INCREASINGLY ATTRACTIVE TO SOVIETS, AND ITS OPENING
INTO AFRICA OFFERING POTENTIAL ENTRY POINT FOR EXPANSION OF
SOVIET INFLUENCE--GIVES ALGERIA SIGNIFANCE FOR OUR
STRATEGIC INTERESTS.

III. INTERNATIONAL INFLUENCE. ALGERIA'S COMMITMENT TO
REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM, "ANTI-IMPERIALISM", AND "LIBERATION
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PAGE 02 ALGIER 00787 01 OF 03 281422Z

STRUGGLES" THROUGHOUT WORLD, ITS DETERMINED AND CAPABLE
LEADERSHIP, ITS RADICAL CREDENTIALS, ITS NEGOTIATING
DEDICATION AND SKILL, AND ITS PRAGMATIC INTEREST IN
RADICAL RENOVATION OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER HAVE
MADE ALGERIANS IMPORTANT INTERLOCUTORS ON INTERNATIONAL
AND THIRD WORLD ISSUES.

B. OVERVIEW:

I. U.S.-ALGERIAN RELATIONS: SWEET AND SOUR:

ALGERIA'S COMMITMENT TO IS REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST OPTION AND TO "LIBERATION STRUGGLES" THROUGHOUT WORLD HAS TRADITIONALLY LED IT TO OPPOSE OUR POLICIES AND INTERESTS ON ISSUES REMOTE FROM DIRECT ALGERIAN CONCERN SUCH AS PUERTO RICO, KOREA, AND PANAMA CANAL, OF INDIRECT CONCERN SUCH AS SOUTHERN AFRICA, ANGOLA, FOOD, POPULATION, AND MIDDLE EAST, AND OF DIRECT CONCERN SUCH AS NIEO AND LOS. ALGERIA HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN ONE OF OUR MAJOR ADVERSARIES, ARGUING EXTREME POSITIONS, ORGANIZING RADICALS, SUPPORTING SOVIETS, AND PRESSING FOR MAXIMUM CONCESSIONS.

AT SAME TIME, ALGERIA'S PRAGMATIC SELF-INTEREST IN RAPID DEVELOPMENT AND INDUSTRIALIZATION HAS BEEN FORGING INCREASING ECONOMIC LINKS BETWEEN US. VALUE OF CONTRACTS HELD BY AMERICAN COMPANIES IN ALGERIA HAS EXPANDED IN LAST TWO YEARS FROM \$2 BILLION TO \$6 BILLION; NEGOTIATIONS ON ADDITIONAL \$10 BILLION WORTH OF CONTRACTS INDICATE GROWTH WILL CONTINUE. IN 1976, WE REPLACED FRANCE AS ALGERIA'S NUMBER ONE TRADING PARTNER, AND COMPLETION OF LNG FACILITIES SEEMS LIKELY TO ENSURE WE WILL REMAIN THERE. WE ALREADY PURCHASE ABOUT HALF OF ALGERIA'S OIL EXPORTS. U.S. PRIVATE BANK EXPOSURE IS AROUND \$1.2 BILLION, EXIM'S ALGERIAN EXPOSURE IS OVER \$800 MILLION, AND ALGERIAN APPETITE FOR OUR TECHNOLOGY AND FINANCING SEEMS INSATIABLE. ALGERIAN
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PAGE 03 ALGIER 00787 01 OF 03 281422Z

STUDENTS IN U.S., ALMOST ALL SENT BY GOVERNMENT AGENCIES TO PURSUE TECHNOLOGICAL STUDIES TIED TO ALGERIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS, HAVE INCREASED IN PAST FOUR YEARS FROM 50 TO 1650.

ALGERIA HAS PUBLICLY PRESENTED ITS U.S. TIES AS NECESSARY EVILS REQUIRED TO ADVANCE COUNTRY TO STAGE OF DEVELOPED, INDUSTRIALIZED, MODERN STATE, BUT WHICH WILL BECOME DISPENSABLE ONCE THIS GOAL IS REACHED. TO SUSTAIN ITS RADICAL IMAGE, ALGERIA HAS BEEN HYPER-RADICAL IN ITS RHETORIC AND IN SOME OF ITS ACTIONS, FOR EXAMPLE, ITS SUPPORT OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AND ITS GRANTING SOVIETS USE OF ALGIERS AIRPORT AS STOPOVER POINT FOR SOVIET-ANGOLAN AIRLIFT. TRADITIONALLY WE HAVE ACCEPTED COMPARTMENTALIZATION OF ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL FROM POLITICAL/MILITARY RELATIONS AND MADE NO ATTEMPT TO USE OUR ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL LEVERAGE.

II. EVOLVING MODERATION: MOST STRIKING

CHARACTERISTIC OF ALGERIAN BEHAVIOR ON INTERNATIONAL SCENE OVER PAST YEAR, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN ITS RELATIVE MODERATION. THEORIES FOR RATIONALE BEHIND SUCH MODERATION INCLUDE ALGERIAN PREOCCUPATION WITH SAHARA QUESTION, CONCENTRATION ON INTERNAL INSTITUTION BUILDING, ISOLATION WITHIN ARAB AND AFRICAN WORLDS OVER SAHARA, LESSENERED IMPORTANCE IN OPEC AND ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ISSUES BECAUSE OF INCREASED FLEXING OF SAUDI MONETARY MUSCLE, INTERNAL FINANCIAL PROBLEMS, AND INCREASED MATURITY COMING WITH REALIZATION THAT SOLUTIONS TO INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS NOT ADVANCED BY RADICAL RHETORIC.

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PAGE 01 ALGIER 00787 02 OF 03 281135Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02
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FM AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6177

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 ALGIERS 0787

WHILE THESE MAY BE CONTRIBUTING FACTORS, GENERAL BELIEF (NOT ADMITTED BY ALGERIANS) IS THAT BASIC CAUSE FOR ALGERIA'S MELLOWING IS THAT ALGERIAN LEADERSHIP IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY AWARE OF ALGERIAN DEPENDENCE ON WESTERN TECHNOLOGY, FINANCE AND MARKETS AND OF INEVITABLE INTERDEPENDENCE OF ALGERIAN ECONOMY WITH THOSE OF WESTERN COUNTRIES, MOST IMPORTANTLY U.S. RESULT, ACCORDING TO THIS BELIEF, IS THAT WHILE ALGERIANS ARE AS HARDLINE AS EVER ON ISSUES WHERE THEY HAVE CONCRETE SUBSTANTIVE INTERESTS, SUCH AS LOS, SAHARA, AND SPECIFIC NIEO ISSUES, GRATUITOUS EXTREME OPPOSITION OF PAST GRADUALLY FADING.

III. IMPLICATION FOR U.S. POLICY. RECENT RELATIVE REASONABLENESS PROVIDES RATIONALE FOR CONTINUING TO MAINTAIN COMPARTMENTALIZATION OF OUR RELATIONS, EXPLOITING ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL SIDE AND FACILITATING CONTINUED

EVOLUTION OF ALGERIAN MODERATION BY MAINTAINING HIGH-LEVEL DIALOGUE ON SUBSTANCE AND TOKEN GESTURES SUCH AS REIMBURSABLE AID AND IV GRANTS. SUCH COURSE WILL NOT BE SMOOTH OR EASY, GIVEN DIFFICULT ALGERIAN CHARACTER, CONTINUED KNEE-JERK ALGERIAN OPPOSITION IN MANY FORA, AND OCCASIONAL HYSTERICAL ALGERIAN RHETORIC MEANT TO BURNISH GOA'S RADICAL CREDENTIALS.

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PAGE 02 ALGIER 00787 02 OF 03 281135Z

IN EVENT OF INCREASED OR RENEWED ALGERIAN ACTIONS INIMICAL TO OUR INTERESTS, HOWEVER, WE NEED TO BE PREPARED TO END COMPARTMENTALIZATION AND MAKE EXPLICIT LINK BETWEEN OUR ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL COOPERATION AND RESPONSIBLE ALGERIAN BEHAVIOR. SUCH ALGERIAN ACTIONS COULD INCLUDE INCREASED SUPPORT FOR INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM, STEPPED-UP SUBVERSION OF ITS MODERATE NEIGHBORS, INCREASED COOPERATION WITH SOVIETS INVOLVING SOVIET USE OF ALGERIAN PORTS OR REPEAT OF ANGOLAN AIRLIFT EXPERIENCE WHERE SOVIETS USED ALGERIAN TERRITORY AS ENTRYWAY TO AFRICA.

C. OBJECTIVES, COURSES OF ACTION, AND ISSUES:

I. ECONOMIC/COMMERCIAL.

A. OBJECTIVES

1. MAINTAIN ACCESS TO ALGERIAN OIL AND GAS ON REASONABLE TERMS.
2. DEVELOP ALGERIAN MARKET FOR AMERICAN EXPORTS.
3. BLUNT ALGERIAN DRIVE FOR RADICAL CHANGE IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC RELATIONS IN NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE.
4. SETTLE OUTSTANDING U.S. PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL CLAIMS.

B. COURSES OF ACTION AND DISCUSSION OF ISSUES INVOLVED.

1. OBTAIN EARLY FPC DECISIONS ON U.S.-ALGERIAN LNG CONTRACTS. ALGERIANS HAVE STRESSED NEED FOR END TO DELAY ON FPC DECISIONS SO THAT THEY CAN MAKE ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS, THUS ENABLING THEM TO ARRANGE FINANCING AND LAUNCH LIQUEFACTION PROJECTS.

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PAGE 03 ALGIER 00787 02 OF 03 281135Z

THEY STRESS THAT NEGATIVE DECISIONS WILL NOT AFFECT
POLITICAL RELATIONS BUT THAT THEY NEED AND DESERVE
ANSWER. DELAYED DECISIONS WILL SOUR CURRENT FRANK
DIALOGUE ON ECONOMIC ISSUES AND ENDANGER OUR ACCESS TO
LNG IF WE WANT IT.

2. CONTINUE EXIM ACTIVITY TO EXTENT ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS
PERMIT. ALGERIAN DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS DEPEND ON EXTERNAL FINANCING.
EXIM FINANCING WILL BE IMPORTANT TO MAINTAIN LEVEL OF SALES
OF U.S. GOODS AND SERVICES.

3. CONTINUE U.S.-ALGERIAN DIALOGUE ON
NORTH-SOUTH ISSUES. ALGERIAN AGGRESSIVENESS IN PUSHING
ITS NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER HAS BEEN MUTED
IN RECENT PAST, PARTLY, WE BELIEVE, AS RESULT ALGERIAN
CONVICTION THAT WE LISTENING TO THEM AND TAKING THEIR
VIEWS INTO ACCOUNT. UNDER SECRETARY COOPER SHOULD
VISIT ALGIERS AND U.S. DELEGATION AT CIEC SHOULD CULTIVATE
ALGERIANS.

4. SUPPORT OF U.S. PRIVATE COMPANIES BY
EMBASSY, STATE AND COMMERCE. ALGERIA IS A PROFITABLE
BUT DIFFICULT MARKET. FIRMS NEW TO MARKET NEED ADVICE
AND COUNSELING. FIRMS ALREADY ACTIVE NEED EMBASSY
INTERVENTION ON BOTH SPECIFIC COMPANY PROBLEMS, SUCH AS
PAYMENT DELAYS, AND ON GENERAL PROBLEMS, SUCH AS
VISAS. PAST POOR PERFORMANCE BY U.S. FIRMS HAS
WEAKENED ALGERIAN TRUST IN COMPETENCE OF AMERICAN FIRMS.
EMBASSY NEEDS TO MONITOR PERFORMANCE OF U.S. COMPANIES
TO DEGREE POSSIBLE AND ENCOURAGE RESPONSIBLE PERFORMANCE OF
CONTRACT OBLIGATIONS AND HONEST BUSINESS PRACTICES SO AS TO
PRESERVE ALGERIAN CONFIDENCE IN EFFICIENCY AND INTEGRITY OF
U.S. PRIVATE SECTOR AS SOURCE OF GOODS AND SERVICES.

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PAGE 01 ALGIER 00787 03 OF 03 281242Z
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 PER-01 SIG-01 A-01
MMO-01 EB-08 SCA-01 IO-13 INR-07 PM-04 CU-02
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R 271745Z MAR 77

FM AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6178

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 ALGIERS 0787

5. CONTINUE TO PRESS FOR RESOLUTION OF
OUTSTANDING PRIVATE AND OFFICIAL CLAIMS. ALGERIAN
REFUSAL EVEN TO DISCUSS PRIVATE CLAIMS, MUCH LESS
RESOLVE THEM, BARS THEM FROM ALMOST ALL U.S. ASSISTANCE AND
LEAVES PERMANENT TENDER SPOT IN OUR RELATIONS. CONTINUING
TO PRESS ISSUE MAY RESOLVE OFFICIAL CLAIMS AND MAY ENCOURAGE
ALGERIANS TO SEEK BACK DOOR WAY OF RESOLVING PRIVATE CLAIMS, SUCH
AS BURYING PAYMENT IN COMMERICAL TRANSACTION.

II. STRATEGIC.

A. OBJECTIVES.

1. DISCOURAGE ALGERIA FROM SUBVERSION OF ITS MODERATE NEIGHBORS,
IN MOST PART OUR FRIENDS, AND UPSETTING REGIONAL POWER BALANCE.

2. DISCOURAGE ALGERIA FROM PROVIDING
SOVIETS WITH PORT FACILITIES IN MEDITERRANEAN AND FROM
FACILITATING EXPANSION OF SOVIET INFLUENCE IN AFRIA.

B. COURSES OF ACTION AND DISCUSSION OF ISSUES INVOLVED

1. CONTINUE PUBLIC POSTURE OF NEUTRALITY
ON SUBSTANCE OF SAHRA ISSUE. ALGERIANS EXPECT US
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PAGE 02 ALGIER 00787 03 OF 03 281242Z

FOR IDEOLOGICAL AND PRAGMATIC REASONS TO TITLT TO
MOROCCO, AND THEY ACCEPT CURRENT LEVEL OF OUR SUPPORT
FOR MOROCCO AS NATURAL IN LIGHT OF MOROCCAN-AMERICAN
RELATIONS. SHOULD TILT BECOME MORE OVERT BY OUR
PUBLIC ENDORSEMENT OF MOROCCAN-MAURITANIAN TAKEOVER OF
SAHARA OR BY INCREASE IN AMOUNT OR SOPHISTICATION OF
MILITARY EQUIPMENT MADE AVAILABLE TO MOROCCO, ALGERIANS
CAN BE EXPECTED TO REACT SHARPLY AGAINST US AND OTHER
NEIGHBORS AND TO MOVE CLOSER TO SOVIETS.

2. MAKE AT LEAST TOKEN CONTRIBUTIONTO UNHCR FUND FOR SAHRAOUI
REFUGEES. CONTRIBUTION WOULD BE CONCRETE DEMONSTRATION OF OUR
NEUTRALITY ON SAHARA ISSUE AND WOULD CONSTITUTE HUMANITARIAN
GESTURE TOWARD ALLEVIATING PLIGHT OF SAHRAOUI REFUGEES.

3. APPROVE SALE OF NON-LETHAL MILITARY EQUIPMENT TO ALGERIANS.
WHILE WE HAVE NO DESIRE TO BECOME SUPPLIER OF ARMS TO ALGERIANS,
DEMONSTRATION OF U.S. WILLINGNESS TO MAKE GESTURES IN MILITARY
FIELD WILL AVOID GIVING ALGERIANS FEELING OF ISOLATION AND OF

TOTAL DEPENDENCE ON SOVIETS AND IMPRESSION THAT WE ARE BLINDLY COMMITTED TO MOROCCO.

4. CONTINUE CURRENT QUIET SUPPORT FOR MOROCCO AND TUNISIA AND WORK TO MAINTAIN CLOSER, MORE COOPERATIVE RELATIONS WITH MAURITANIA AND NIGER. CONTINUED STABILITY AND VIABILITY OF ALGERIA'S NEIGHBORS WILL FRUSTRATE EXPANSION OF ITS INFLUENCE AND PERHAPS RE-CHANNEL ITS ENERGIES.

III. DIPLOMATIC/POLITICAL

A. OBJECTIVES

1. KEEP BILATERAL REALTIONS CORDIAL ENOUGH TO PERMIT CONTINUING COMMUNICATION TO HELP TRANQUILIZE ALGERIANS ON INTERNATIONAL SCENE AND ENHANCE ALGERIAN UNDERSTANDING OF U.S.
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PAGE 03 ALGIER 00787 03 OF 03 281242Z

2. MINIMIZE DAMAGE ALGERIANS DO TO OUR MULTILATERAL POLITICAL INTERESTS.

3. OBTAIN CONTINUED ALGERIAN ACQUIESCENCE IN OUR MIDDLE EAST PEACE EFFORTS.

4. DISCOURAGE ALGERIAN SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM.

B. COURSE OF ACTION AND DISCUSSION OF ISSUES INVOLVED

1. MAINTAIN CONTINUING DIALOGUE.
SUBSTANTIVE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN US AND ALGERIANS ON POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC POLICY ISSUES ARE GREAT, BUT ALGERIAN PRIDE RESPONDS TO HIGH-LEVEL ATTENTION AND ALGERIAN PRAGMATISM RESPONDS TO COOPERATIVE VENTURES IN THEIR INTEREST. WE SHOULD RE-ESTABLISH HIGH-LEVEL EXCHANGE OF VIEWS WITH ALGERIANS, RESPOND POSITIVELY TO THEIR REQUESTS FOR COOPERATION IN SPECIFIC FIELDS SUCH AS ILLEGAL PAYMENTS, AGRICULTURE, AND SATELLITE SENSING DATA, ENCOURAGE GOA TO SEND STUDENTS TO U.S., AND ENLARGE IV AND OTHER EDUCATION AND CULTURAL EXCHANGE PROGRAMS. OUR PARTICIPATION IN SUCH VENTURES OPENS UP ALGERIAN SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT TO US AND OUR VIEWS AND CREATES MORE CORDIAL ATMOSPHERE, THUS FACILITATING DISCUSSION OF DIFFERENCES. OVER TIME IT CAN ERODE ALGERIAN ACTIVISM, IF NOT ITS OPPOSITION, AS HAS OCCURRED IN MIDDLE EAST.

2. STATE U.S. POSITIONS FRANKLY ON BILATERAL AND MULTILATERAL

POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC ISSUES OF IMPORTANCE TO US. ALGERIANS
RECOGNIZE THAT WE OPERATE FROM DIFFERENT THEORETICAL/PHILOSOPHICAL
BASE AND HAVE DIFFERENT INTERESTS IN WORLD. ALGERIANS,
HOWEVER, HAVE PRAGMATIC REASONS TO COOPERATE WITH US--THEY
NEED OUR FINANCING, TECHNOLOGY AND MARKET. WE SHOULD ENSURE THAT
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PAGE 04 ALGIER 00787 03 OF 03 281242Z

THEY ARE AWARE OF OUR VIEWS ON SUCH KEY QUESTIONS AS MIDDLE
EAST AND NIEO AND OUR IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO ISSUES
SUCH AS TERRORISM AND PUERTO RICO.

3. CONCENTRATE ON MAINTAINING SOLIDARITY
WITH OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND ON CULTIVATING
MODERATE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES IN ORDER TO UNDERCUT
AND ISOLATE ALGERIANS ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES. LYNE

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